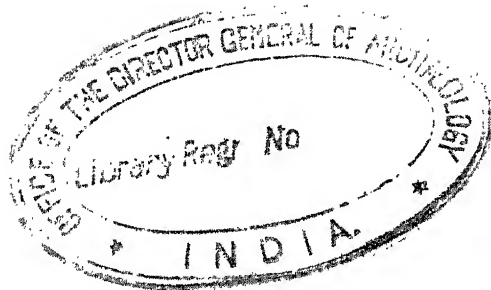


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A SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF NOBORU WATANABE.

(KWAZAN)

BY MISS S. BALLARD.

[Read 12 October 1904.]

Sixty years have passed since Noboru Watanabe took his own life, being under the impression that his mere existence brought discredit upon his feudal lord. These sixty years have wrought great changes and Japan is now ready to do credit to the work done by Watanabe and his party.

In a recent political speech Marquis Ito, in referring to the opening of Japan to foreign influence, made the following remarks:

"That the Restoration should have been combined with the opening of the country and the adoption of a policy of enlightened progress was a surprise to all. This great and decisive step is due of course to the keen foresight of the enlightened Sovereign and of the statesmen who surrounded and advised him at the time.

No inconsiderable amount of credit, however, must in this respect be given to patriots and servants like Shihei Hayashi, Kwazan Watanabe, Choei Takano, Shozan Sakuma and others."

In my account of Kwazan Watanabe I have closely followed a Japanese biography, reserving any remarks of my own for foot-notes.

Noboru Watanabe, commonly known by his Nom de Plume of Kwazan, was born in 1794.

His father was a *samurai* of the Tawara clan,* a studious man, who at one time lived in Yedo studying Confucianism and supporting himself by copying Chinese classics. He had eight children, of whom Kwazan was the eldest.

From the time that Kwazan was a mere child it was predicted that he would grow famous. One day, before he was two years old, his mother was standing with him at the gate of the lord's house at Sugamo when a priest passed who had a great reputation for being able to read a person's future in his face. The mother asked him to look at Kwazan and tell her whether he would have small-pox severely or slightly.

The priest, looking at the child, said that he would have small-pox very slightly, that he would grow up to be a famous man, but would be in unfortunate circumstances; all of which predictions came true.

When he was eight years old, Kwazan was made one of the attendants on his young lord, and from the time he was ten he began to receive a regular salary. He went to the castle morning and afternoon; one of his duties was to learn the *ono* of which his young lord was very fond.

It was when he was ten years old that there occurred an event which made a great impression on his mind. When walking along Nihonbashi, he chanced to knock against one of the attendants in a procession escorting the Lord of Bizen; for this rudeness he was so chided and humiliated that he felt he must devote his life to wiping out this indignity, which could only be done by

* The Tawara clan was ruled by the Tosa no Kami or Lord of Tosa, a title which, however, implied no connection with the place of that name.

becoming famous. In order to make a name for himself he decided to apply himself to learning and one of his father's friends, hearing of his resolution, introduced him to a teacher under whom he began regular study.

Kwazan's home was of the humblest and poorest description. His father had been ill for many years and in order to procure the necessary medicines for him everything the family possessed had gradually been sold. In the coldest night of winter they had not a *futon* to lie on nor to cover them. The mother would lie on the bare mats and taking the youngest child in her arms would try to impart to it the warmth of her own body.

In order to reduce the number of mouths to feed, one son went as a servant; another became a priest, while Kwazan devoted all his leisure to study, hoping eventually by that means to do something to help his parents. In the intervals of his attendance on his lord, Kwazan had not only to nurse his sick father, but also to help his mother in her house-hold work. Rising early in the morning to kindle the fire, he would manage to study a little by its light; indeed the sages of olden times who did their studies by the light of fire-flies or the snow, underwent no greater hardships in their pursuit of learning than did Kwazan. Even in his childhood his writing was astonishing, and he early showed his talent for painting. When he was about eight years old, a visitor came one day, who did not leave his name; Kwazan however, having seen him, was able to draw a picture which was such a correct likeness that they could tell at once who their visitor had been.

One of his father's friends told him that, considering the extreme poverty of his home, it was of no use his

thinking of becoming a great scholar it was necessary that he should apply himself to ; something that would bring in money at once, and as his pictures showed great talent he had better give himself to painting. So at the age of sixteen Kwazan, receiving from his mother the modest sum of sixteen *mon* with which to buy paper, began work as an art student. He was not able however to give his whole time to it, for he had been appointed, in the same year, teacher to the Lord of Bingo.

As he grew older Kwazan felt that mere skill in painting was not enough, he wished his paintings to show culture, so he made great efforts to study Chinese classics with a teacher, but there were many obstacles in the way ; during the day he had to attend on his lord and in the *daimyo's* households the rules forbidding young men to go out after dark were strict, so he was unable to go to the night school that he wished to attend. He was however undaunted in his pursuit of knowledge, and the little leisure that was left to him, when his feudal duties were over, was divided between the painting by which he contributed some money to the household support, and those Chinese classics which, to the end of his life, were such a perpetual interest to him.

He formed for himself a rule of conduct ; which he pasted to the wall of his room in order that he might not forget it. Among other resolutions were the following ; "To strive to keep his parents from want. To study deeply, while pursuing his painting for the relief of the family poverty. To look at no books except the Chinese classics and those on painting. To be very careful in his intercourse and, while never repulsing those who came to him, not to seek out acquaintances. (There

is a list of those whose knowledge and talents made them profitable friends).

To be simple and straight-forward in his manners; frugal in food; careful as to his actions; saving of time; sparing of words, even in the most trivial act of writing to form the characters with care, and to be clear in expression.

While his parents were alive to keep them from poverty by hard work, however much that work went against his own inclinations; to be willing even to offer up prayer to demons, if by that means he could obtain peace of mind for his parents."

In 1819 the Tawara clan was ordered by the Shogun to repair the Wadakura gate in Tokyo, which work Kwazan superintended for six years. Kwazan was very much struck by the first foreign pictures he saw and he afterwards introduced a certain amount of foreign style into his paintings. His portraits were famous. On one occasion, when he had finished a life-like portrait, the sitter wished to reward him handsomely, but he refused to take any payment. Finally, however, he asked for an ancient Chinese manuscript which he said would be of more value to him than a thousand *yen*.*

Kwazan gradually rose to posts of trust in the daimyo's household and was able to marry, but as he had to support not only his parents but also his grand parents, his circumstances were always straitened. He was noted for his filial devotion, and when his father died, he was for two days too afflicted to eat; but on the third day he rose and,

* Kwazan here showed the correct Japanese disregard for money, but one cannot help wondering how the Chinese manuscript was received by the poverty stricken family.

after partaking of some *kayū*, set to work on a portrait of his father which he hung in his room and before which he offered food, morning and night. He had his father's funeral conducted according to the Confucian rites prescribed in the Sosairei.

It was when he was over thirty that Kwazan turned his attention to Dutch learning. The students of the Dutch or Western learning were divided at that time into two parties; one, the Yama-no-te party, studied Western learning in several different branches; the Shitamachi party* devoted themselves to the study of medicine only.

Kwazan, along with Koseki, Takano Choei, and others, also formed an association called the Shoshi Kwai, (Old Men's Club) whose avowed object was the study of foreign geography and history, but they had also the secret purpose of studying with a view to improving the maritime defences of Japan, which they felt to be defective. In spite of its name, the members of the club were all young men. Though regarded with suspicion, on account of their advanced views, they yet gained confidence by the reliability of their characters, and the *daimyos* would not unrequently submit difficult questions in politics to their consideration, and would place young men under their influence.

Kwazan, being a man of learning and position, was considered the head of the club, but having begun Western learning rather late he was only able to read the Japanese translations of the books studied. Though much taken up with Western learning, Kwazan steadily continued his study of Confucius and we find him at the age of thirty

* The names refer to different districts of Tokyo.

four still going daily to read the Confucian classics with a master.

When his Lord, the *daimyo* of Bingo, died childless, Kwazan earnestly hoped that the younger brother, Tomonobu, might be allowed to succeed him. But the house of Miyake was very poor and the retainers determined that it would be better to adopt an heir from some wealthy house in the hopes that he might bring money with him.

As an excuse for their conduct they argued that Tomonobu was too delicate to be a satisfactory head of the clan.

Kwazan thought it dreadful that one of the lineal descendants of the house should be set aside for a complete stranger and protested against these proceedings; he argued that he had never heard of a *daimyo's* house really becoming bankrupt, and that though they were poor yet, if they proceeded to economize steadily, there was no reason why they should not have Tomonobu, a son of the house, for their lord. His protests, however, were in vain, and the retainers chose a successor from the house of Sakai, who took the title of the Lord of Tosa. Though Kwazan had been opposed to his election he does not seem to have borne any ill will, for he appointed Kwazan superintendent of the household of the deposed Tomonobu.

This Lord of Tosa had a son and a daughter, and it was his intention, when they were of age, to make his son his successor and give away his daughter in marriage. When Kwazan heard of this plan he resolved to address his lord on the subject.

Sending away all the other retainers, he contrived to see his lord quite alone and told him that the setting aside of Tomonobu had been an injustice to an old

family. He then begged that this injustice might be repaired by the Lord of Tosa giving his son away and taking Tomonobu's son as successor and husband to his daughter.

Kwazan pointed out that if the Lord of Tosa did this he would please not only the retainers of the class, who would be pleased to see the original line restored, but he would also please the spirits of his ancestors. He owned that he was making a very bold suggestion and that it would be quite within reason if the Lord of Tosa ordered him to be immediately beheaded.

The Lord however received the suggestion very favourably and, thanks to Kwazan, the family of the deposed Tomonobu was finally reinstated by the carrying out of the proposed arrangement.

The history of the succession to the house of Miyake, which ruled the Tawara clan, shows how entirely different the Japanese idea of family succession is to the English. When the lord died, the elder of the clan retainers *elected* a successor. There does not appear to have been such a thing as legal right.

Kwazan was commissioned to write a history of the house of Miyake and in order to collect the necessary information he travelled about a considerable part of Japan. When he was absent on one of these journeys he received an order to return at once. A ship belonging to the Kishu clan had been shipwrecked on the Tawara coast and, the cargo having become scattered about, the farmers and fishermen had appropriated whatever they could lay hands on. The Kishu clan determined

to complain to the Shogun's court. Kwazan saw at once that such a complaint would result in great trouble for the Tawara clan, so he hurried to Tokyo and for three months he worked hard in his endeavours to prevent the matter coming before the Shogun. In this he was successful and the gratitude of the clan was unbounded. When he returned to Tawara the fisher people assembled at the castle to express their gratitude and to beg him to accept a sum of money. Kwazan wished to refuse the money, declaring that he had merely done his duty. It was however pressed on him and he accepted it, afterwards returning it to that district with directions that it was to be kept as a fund for use when there had been bad fishing seasons.

The years 1833 to 1839 were marked by a bad famine in Japan. Kwazan exerted himself in every way to help the distressed people; when the distress was first felt in the north he wrote to the people of Tawara urging them to be frugal and industrious. The famine gradually spread, and merchants bought up stores of rice so that the prices became exorbitant. There was great disorder in the country districts, where bands of robbers urged the people to insurrection. Kwazan was much troubled at this state of affairs and thought out a relief plan. He proposed the building of a large godown at Tawara in which the people could store rice in anticipation of the famine becoming worse. The people had implicit faith in Kwazan and they came forward eagerly to help in the work of building. The Lord of Tosa with his own hand wrote an inscription to be hung in the finished building, and the first grain stored was millet which Kwazan bought with money made by the sale of a picture.

The famine became more and more widely spread and the Lord of Tosa, wishing to commence further relief work, sent for Kwazan who was then in Tokyo.

Kwazan was too ill to travel, too ill even to write a letter, but he sent books which gave valuable information.

The retainers of the Tawara clan took up the business of the famine relief with great vigour and the rich families contributed liberally. The poor were helped with rice and the sick given medical attendance so that in the Tawara district not a single person died of starvation. The Lord of Tosa received a letter of praise from the Shogun but it was felt that the real credit was due to the foresight and prompt measures of Kwazan.

Kwazan set a noble example of frugality in his own household. During the famine he made a rule of having only two meals a day and giving the rice he thereby saved to the poor. There are many tales of his generosity to those in distress.

It was about this time that Kwazan sent a friend a composition entitled "The Mean Man" from which the following sentences are taken.

"To gain fame he will disregard truth and to obtain profit he will disregard justice. He is jealous of those who are nobler and richer than himself, those who are lowly he despises and illtreats; he makes friends only with his inferiors in intellect and tastes; he disdains to ask for information, so he remains ignorant to the end of his life. He rejoices to hear himself praised, even though he knows the praise to be exaggerated; he is astonished when he hears himself blamed, if for something he has not done, he is wroth; if for a fault, he hides it and condones his mistake. So he does not improve."

Kwazan had a collection of over five hundred books and over twenty pictures all of which he determined to present to his lord. His friends expostulated and advised him to keep some for his descendants. He replied that he "had collected these books with infinite pains and trouble, but still it was all owing to his lord's kindness that he had them at all, so that he did not look upon them as being really his own possessions and was only too glad to be able to offer them as a token of his gratitude. If any of his descendants had a taste for learning they must collect books for themselves; besides which, it was impossible to know the future of his descendants, and they might not be in a position to take proper care of his collection, so that the results of long years of labour might be lost."

The year 1818 was marked by the coming of an English merchant ship to Uraga. The Japanese Government were much annoyed that foreign ships should venture so far, and the subject of maritime defence in which Kwazan had always been interested became a burning question. Kwazan thought that inhabitants of sea-coast places should be instructed by the Government as to the shape of foreign ships and the flags of different countries so that they might be able to give the alarm when dangerous vessels appeared, and suggested that pictures should be posted up in Government offices. He also urged the Government to have spring and autumn manœuvres for the better training of the soldiers.

The arrival of what is known in Japanese history as the "Morrison" ship caused great agitation in Japan. This ship came straight up to Tokyo bay, without calling at Nagasaki, wishing to land seven Japanese castaways

whom it had picked up. The Japanese were convinced that this was a mere pretext which covered some more serious design. The Lord of Echizen advised that the castaways should be allowed to land and that the captain should be given an audience, but the other *daimyos* were opposed to this. They argued that if the object of the ship had merely been the returning of the castaways, they would have gone to Nagasaki. "The English robbers," they said, "have for sometime been molesting Japan and should be punished, especially as they hold the Christian religion which is forbidden by our laws; the castaways are unfortunate but we cannot receive them, we must drive away the ship.*

This counsel prevailed.

At this time the superintendent at Uraga was a man called Torii, and the Shogun's deputy there was Ogasawara.

This Torii was extremely jealous of the position and influence of Kwazan and the other leaders of the advanced party, and had long been looking for some accusation to bring against them when the publication of Takano Choei's "Yumenomonogatari," gave him the opportunity he sought. He told the Government that he believed that the talk about the probable coming of foreign ships was merely a fiction by which the Dutch scholars were trying to agitate the people and to rouse them to sedition. He advised that the Dutch scholars should be severely reprimanded. The Government however did not then act on his suggestion.

Torii, in connection with Ogasawara, prepared a survey map for the Government, which they showed to Egawa

* See Note on the Morrison.

one of Kwazan's followers. The map was very faulty and Egawa felt that it would be of no practical use, so he quietly sent a messenger to Kwazan saying that as the map would be used in the construction of fortifications it was of great importance that it should be correct, and begging that some one capable of such work should be sent to Uraga.

Kwazan after consulting with Takano, recommended two men, Uchida and Satomura, who went at once to Uraga and began to work at a survey map.

Ogasawara, seeing that these men were his rivals, did all he could to discredit them. Torii was persuaded to order Satomura back to Tokyo on the plea that being a Buddhist priest he could not possibly know about such work. Uchida however made a map which he submitted to the careful criticism of Kwazan and then sent in to the Government. The map prepared by Torii and Ogasawara was sent in about the same time, but there was no comparison between them, and the evident superiority of Uchida's brought great credit to the Dutch scholars.

It was about this time that a party was formed to advocate Japanese emigration to some of the uninhabited islands of the Pacific. Those who interested themselves in the matter were a couple of dozen men, all of whom belonged to the party of the Dutch scholars, and who held meetings and tried to arouse an interest in the matter. Among those who occasionally attended the meetings of the Dutch scholars was a man named Hanai, one of the keepers of the Palace garden. Ogasawara, who was very anxious to recover the reputation that he had lost in the matter of the map, sent one day for Hanai and told him that it was well-known to the Government that the Dutch

scholars, under the pretext of furthering emigration, were stirring up the people and urging them to sedition. He also told Hanai that if he wished to escape the punishment that was about to fall on all connected with the Dutch scholars, he would himself go to Torii and not only implore pardon but also, as a proof of his repentance, give a full account of the proceedings of the Dutch scholars and a list of their names.

Hanai was much alarmed and resolved at once to follow this advice. He therefore drew up a document in which he gave the names of all whom he knew to be in sympathy with the Dutch scholars (the list included the houses of Shimadzu, Miyake, Matsudaira, and many others), he also stated that Kwazan and Takano were really the leaders of the party.

Torii and Ogasawara were not the only ones who were working against the Dutch scholars. A certain official named Shibukawa addressed a letter to the Government on the subject. He strongly advised that all foreign books brought into the country should be submitted to a sort of censorship. Under the present system, he said, scholars were allowed to order any books they pleased and take them to their homes, in this way pernicious reading on politics, forbidden religions, such as Christianity, and other erroneous opinions were being widely spread. The *daimyos* had encouraged their retainers not only to study Dutch but even in some cases to translate these bad books; of course it was necessary that doctors should study Dutch, but others should be forbidden to do so, as it was only curiosity and a love of novelty that led them to it. He proposed that all foreign books should be sent straight to Yedo and examined there

before being read by any one. "Neglect of this matter even for one day might lead to years of trouble."

One day in May 1839 Kwazan invited Takano to his house and told him that it was clear that trouble was in store for the Dutch scholars. He said that his pupils frequently warned him to be careful, but that he had no fears as to what might happen to himself, his only anxiety was the thought of what would become of his aged mother if he were seized by the Government. Even while he was speaking a messenger arrived bringing the expected summons to appear before the Government. Seven other members of the Dutch learning party were summoned along with him.

Police were sent to search Kwazan's house with a view to discovering writings that would compromise him. As they were not able to read what they found they bundled books, letters, compositions, all into a long box and took them to the court.

Kwazan's position being a good one (*karō*) they expected to find handsome furniture and clothes in his house, but it seemed to contain nothing but books and pictures. When asked what had happened to the furniture the weeping family showed pawn-shop tickets, to the great surprise of the police who had not conceived it possible that he should be so poor.

When the news of Kwazan's imprisonment spread abroad the Lord of Tosa and the deposed Tomonobu were much distressed and began to agitate for his release.

Kwazan had asked a friend of his, named Koseki, who knew Dutch, to translate a book on Christianity for him. He knew that it was forbidden in Japan, but he was of opinion that as Christianity was the religion of enlightened

and civilized countries it ought not to be too hastily condemned.

When Koseki heard of Kwazan's imprisonment he felt sure that it was on account of this book, and it seemed to him unfair that Kwazan only should suffer for what he also had been engaged in. He therefore resolved to give himself up to the authorities, but just as he was about to do so he was told by friends that the punishment for studying the forbidden religion was crucifixion. He felt that such a fate would bring dishonour on his ancestors, so that evening he committed suicide. The accusation against Kwazan was a double one; first, he was accused of being connected with the emigration party, which he denied; secondly, he was accused of having spoken and written disrespectfully of the Government. Passages were quoted from his writings; in one place he had said that there were many kinds of governments, some might be likened to a man who, building a high fence round his house and shutting his gate, refused to have any intercourse with his neighbours, yet this isolation would not not give him immunity from danger, if there was a fire, his house would be burnt down also. In the opinion of the examiners this was a reflection on the Shogun's Government.

In another place Kwazan had said that Chinese learning did not come up to Western learning; and in speaking of the incident of the Morrison ship he had given a description of the latter part of the Ming dynasty in China, describing how when the provinces were full of disturbances the Court was given up to poetry and music, the government officials were taken from the sons of nobles, bribery and corruption were prevalent, and Confucianism not properly valued.

All these remarks were considered to be veiled criticisms, in language that it was not becoming to use regarding the Government.

Kwazan's defence was that these passages did not occur in published books but merely in rough notes which had been written in times of excitement and then laid aside ; he admitted that the language was hasty, but pleaded that no disrespect was meant, and asked that such mere jottings, which he forgot as soon as he had written them, should not be taken as expressions of his fixed opinions. In a long letter written from prison to a friend, he says that his teaching and his studies had all been undertaken with the desire of being useful to his country, but now his bright hopes and plans for future usefulness were wrecked, even if he should escape with his life he had suffered the disgrace of being bound as a prisoner and his reputation was gone ; though he had sinned, he had done so unintentionally, and his mind was at rest: he left his fate to heaven's decree, his only anxiety being for his mother.

" I never forget my old mother and my fellow prisoners laugh at me because in the night I often call out her name. I not only suffer anxiety on her account but I also cause her to be anxious for me, but please tell her that though I am in prison there is no need to be anxious about me. My fellow prisoners are of a lower social position than myself so I have all my own way. From the beginning they knew who I was and called me teacher ; the prison officials, too, come and consult me on matters of art ; and as you have sent me money and food I suddenly find myself in luxury. Please assure my mother of this."—

Kwazan's trial was carried on by an examiner named Nakajima by whom he was "much scolded".*

When Kwazan was released after a seven Months' imprisonment the joy of his friends was unbounded. His house was besieged by messengers bearing congratulations from various daimyos, and friends coming to express their pleasure, but, though released from prison, he was by no means a free man, and he was not able to see them. His orders from the Government were to remain quietly in his house, to see no one, and to go back to Tawara as soon as possible.

He was however permitted to go by night to Sugamo to pay a farewell visit to Tomonobu. Tears were shed both by the master and his faithful retainer, for they both felt sure that they would never meet again.

Kwazan went back to Tawara where he lived a quiet life avoiding all contact with politics and devoting himself to painting and study, and the care of his aged mother.†

A letter written to his brother-in-law in the January of the following year, (the year of his death) shows the

* "In those days the examinations were carried on by an inquisitor whose only duty it was to ascertain the whole facts of the case, either from the prisoner or the witnesses, and having done so to embody them in a clear concise statement of the case which he laid before the judge. The latter then pronounced the verdict and sentence on the strength of this statement without himself ever having seen the prisoner."

Mr. Longford on the Criminal Code, *Trans. As. Soc.* Vol. V.

† As a young man he had made a rule to read nothing but Chinese classics and books on paintings; within a few years, however, his mind had enlarged and he had eagerly grasped every opportunity of getting an insight into Dutch learning; but after the trouble that his pursuit of modern knowledge had brought upon him, one is not surprised that he again confined himself to his Chinese classics.

spirit in which Kwazan accepted his expulsion from active life. After the new year's greetings, he says "Here we have a strong north-west wind which blows night and day and makes a perpetual rustling in the bamboo groves ; there is no appearance of spring. When I lived in Tokyo the expenses there were great, so that at this time of the year I would be anxiously wondering how to meet them ; and there was a continual rush of business, a fire would occur, or visitors come, or there was feudal duty to be done. Then, rising before it was light on New Year's Day, I would go all round Yedo in a *kago* paying my New Year's calls with which half the month was taken up ; and, before the remnants of last year's work were disposed of, the holiday was over, and the feudal duties began again. In my house there were New Year's visitors coming and going, and time passed like a dream.

Now all is changed. The Shogun, the feudal lord, and every one else, is represented in the person of my mother, to whom my wife and I render homage. The children serve as her companions and the household are happy together. Men and women servants whom we have employed at different times come to enquire after our health, which affords us some amusement.

The sage Mōshi says that man has three joys. With the pleasures of public life I have no connection, but one of those joys is that parents, wife, children, brothers, should be in health and prosperity. Even the mighty and rich have sickness, disagreements and quarrels among parents and relations, and they long for joy in life. That a sinner like myself who has no proper place in this wide world should be allowed thus to live among a peaceful people is thanks to the clemency of the Shogun. Living

beside the mother who bore me, carrying out my filial duties, helped in this by my wife and children, I want for nothing. My family too pass their time in peace and happiness. Previously, both my mother and children were discontented, but since we came here, there is nothing of the kind, and we have entered on the New Year with harmony and joy, so please be at rest and happy about us. This is indeed thanks to the Shogun and the feudal lord. Either this year or at some other time, please go to Nikko to return thanks for me. A Happy New Year."*

The Lord of Tosa died and the son of Tomonobu (who according to Kwazan's suggestion, had been made heir) became head of the house. His succession however was not confirmed by the Shogun, and Kwazan's enemies were not slow to insinuate that this delay was owing to the disloyalty of Kwazan. They argued that the clan could hope for no favours at the hand of the Shogun while it harboured such a traitor as Kwazan.

Among Kwazan's former pupils was a man named Fukuda, the son of an inn-keeper in Kojimachi, a man of taste and refinement, who had been faithful to Kwazan in all his difficulties and frequently helped him with money.

Fukuda started the idea of forming a kind of Art Society in Tokyo, but when Kwazan's enemies heard of it they said that this was instigated by Kwazan, and was sure to bring fresh trouble on the Tawara clan.

Kwazan was much distressed when he heard this, and declared that it was terrible to him to think that he

* Kwazan asks his brother in law to go and worship at the tombs of the Shōgun's ancestors at Nikko for him, as he himself was not free to leave Tawara.

should be the means of bringing misfortune on his lord, to whose kindness he owed everything in life. The Shogun's approval of the succession did not come, Kwazan felt that his mere existence was an obstacle to the advancement of his lord, and he resolved to put an end to a life which he thought was of no further use.

On October 10th he wrote several letters of farewell and prepared to commit suicide that night; his aged mother, however, for some reason, was unable to sleep and he devoted himself to her comfort. The next afternoon as he did not appear his mother and wife went to his room in search of him. They found that he had committed suicide according to the prescribed *samurai* rules.

In his letters of farewell he said that he had not intended to do wrong, but by his indiscretions he had brought trouble on his lord and on his mother, so he died leaving a dishonoured name to posterity. To his son he wrote, "while your grandmother is alive strive to keep her happy, and be filial to her; to your unfortunate mother also be filial. Never serve a second lord, even though you should die for not doing so"—(*gashi suru tomo jikan ni tsukan bekarazu.*)

Beside the letters of farewell there was a silk roll on which Kwazan had written: "the disloyal and unfilial Noboru Watanabe as a criminal can have no monument. I write thus:"

Kwazan was buried at Tawara, and, though the Tawara clan frequently asked the Government to pardon him, it was not till 1870 that a pardon was issued, after which a stone was erected on his grave. In 1891 when his admirers erected a memorial to him the Government sent a contribution of one hundred *yen*.

In reading the life of Kwazan we feel that we are studying the ideal *samurai* of Japan. He is not the ideal knight of Tennyson "who revered his conscience as his King," for to Kwazan his King (represented by the Shogun's Government) was far above his conscience. If the Government condemned the Dutch learning, then it was wrong, and he was ready to speak of himself as having committed a crime in studying it, the approval or disapproval of his own conscience had nothing to do with the matter.

His whole line of thought was moulded by the Confucian classics which he was perpetually studying. At the time of his death we find something of the exaggerated sentiment to which the Japanese mind is rather prone; he describes himself as disloyal and unfilial, but we know that he had absolutely no reason for applying these adjectives to himself; he tended his father through a long illness, and from the time when as a child he got up in the dark to light his mother's fire until the day of his death she was his daily care. The house of Miyake was poor, but it seems strange that Kwazan's father, their retainer, a man of culture and learning, should have been allowed to live in such abject poverty that his wife had not a quilt to lie on; and one cannot resist an inclination to ask what were the unspeakable benefits and favours which the Lord of Tosa bestowed on Kwazan. Without a more detailed biography it is perhaps impossible really to answer the question, but it would appear that his often expressed gratitude was the result of the state of mind inculcated by Confucianism rather than the result of personal kindness received.

This makes Kwazan's conduct all the more remarkable

and one cannot sufficiently admire the self abnegation of man who could thus lay down his life for his feudal lord.

NOTE ON THE MORRISON.

The Morrison which sailed from Singapore was an American ship.

She anchored in the bay of Yedo but was driven off the next morning by the guns of a battery that had been thrown up during the night. The Morrison then sailed to Kagoshima where she met with a similar reception, so she returned to Singapore.

It is certain that one object of the expedition was the return to their own country of some Japanese; the Government believed the real purpose to be trade, but there seems to have been also a missionary element in the enterprise, of which the Japanese knew nothing. There was an American missionary on the ship, named Parker, who published a book entitled. "Journal of an expedition from Singapore to Japan by P. Parker, medical missionary from the American Missionary Board, London, 1838."

In the title page the expedition is described as "an attempt with the aid of natives educated in England to create an opening for missionary labour in Japan. Not having seen the book one has no right to criticize its statements, but one cannot help a feeling of wonder at hearing of Japanese who had been educated in England previous to 1837. These details are taken from a Hakluyt Society's transaction.

DAZAI JUN ON BUBI OR PREPARATION FOR WAR.

TRANSLATED BY R. J. KIRBY.

[*Read 14 December, 1904.*]

I must make many apologies for this paper. It seemed very interesting to me when read in the original. But Dazai, the writer, does not lend himself to translation. In the first place, he is full of repetitions, and in the second, he makes references to Chinese history and customs, and to old Japanese customs, about which I, at least, know very little. Then the names of the different ranks of Chinese and Japanese officials of bye-gone days, when translated, give very little insight into what these offices really were. The word I have translated throughout this essay as China really means Foreign Country. But as Dazai means the different parts of what we now call China I have thought it best to translate it thus. The names of the different kingdoms of olden China are most difficult to interpret. For Chinese names I have adopted Chinese renderings of the Chinese characters, and for Japanese the Japanese renderings.

I have translated 侯 Ko as *Daimyo* throughout the essay when referring to Japanese Ko. This is the modern reading, but you will notice Dazai explains what a *Daimyo* really is. I have tried to use as many of Dazai's words as I possibly could and yet make myself understood. The result is far from happy when looked at from the point of view of the English, but if I have thrown some new light on what the state of

Japan's military position was for 200 years before the Restoration, I shall feel that my translation has accomplished something.

Dazai, who wrote over two hundred years ago, made it the aim of his writings to show up the weakness of the Tokugawa government, and he therefore upheld everything Chinese and connected with the Mikado. He denounced Buddhism and upheld what we call Shintoism. He was therefore one of those who, two hundred years ago, worked towards making the Restoration possible.

BUBI 備武 PREPARATION FOR WAR.

The meaning of the characters Bu and Bi is, to be prepared for war. The character 備 Bi means to be warned and in readiness before an event takes place. The Japanese meaning of the character Bi is *Sonoru*, which means to be prepared both in mind and body in such a way that when danger has to be faced defeat shall not result from unreadiness. Take, for example, the fact that water is commonly kept as a precaution against fire and this will illustrate what is implied by this character. It is said that the ancient kings placed learning on their right hand and the art of war on their left. Wisdom and the art of war are like two wheels of a chariot, neither of which can be dispensed with; for to discard one would be to destroy the use of the other. In times of great peace wisdom is shown in remembering the arts of war. The character 武 Bu, which stands for war, is said in the Saden to be composed of two characters 止 Shi, to stop, and 戈 Kwa, a

spear, the joint meaning of which is to prevent the movement of 干 Kan, shields, and Kwa, 戈 spears, (or in plain English, prevent war.) To employ troops for the purpose of fighting, to defeat armies, to besiege castles, to capture territory and so forth is not the art of war. The true art of war is to govern one's country carefully, to keep it from invasion by neighbouring foes, to send troops to put down what revolts there may be in adjoining countries, to show the adjacent nations the light of one's fearfulness in war, so as to prevent hostile incursions, and to awake fear in the hearts of men.

The people of a warlike country in times of hostilities learn, and need not therefore be taught war. Though they do not study it they acquire the knowledge. They are prepared for any sudden emergency. During long and lasting peace the people within the four seas feel secure and rejoice, putting their swords into boxes and their bows into bags. High and low, the people live in ease and profligacy, falling into pleasure's rut, given to sport, and forgetting all about war.

It is written in the 法馬司 Shibaho, "Though a country be great, if the people love war it is sure to be in danger." These are very true sayings.

In China during the Three Dynasties, the government was by wise Kings. In the Second Dynasty there was rebellion against the King's orders and also trouble on the frontiers, and the Emperor sent a General and troops to quell these troubles. Subsequent generations saw signs of misrule in these acts, but this was not so; it was rather the deep scheme of a wise man. All people have their external or internal trouble, but with the Sages it was not so: all on a lower plane than a

Sage must have either external or internal trouble. This is because they do not fear. If a man has external trouble he becomes afraid and takes great care of his internals and saves them. This reasoning is found in the Saden. For example, a man free from sickness takes no care of his health and then he becomes seriously ill, and dies while yet young. A man with a little illness takes great care of his body, and therefore has no serious illness and lives to an old age. The Sages understood this and left a little external trouble in different places so as to cause future lords and retainers not to forget rebellion, and to understand and prepare for war. To govern the world well it is necessary for it to be, as it were, like a great sea which has no wind or waves and by which it is known that a storm is near. For one governing a country ought not for a day to forget the art of war.

The pivot of Military Preparation is the arrangement of 卒 Sotsu and 伍 Go. The rules of war in China say that five men make a Go and ten men a 什 Jiu. Five Go make a 兩 Ryo, a Ryo is twenty five men; four Ryo make a Sotsu, a Sotsu is 100 men; five Sotsu make a 旅 Rio, a Rio is 500 men; five Rio make a 師 Shi, a Shi is 2500 men; five Shi make a 軍 Gun, a Gun is 12,500 men. The Go, Jiu, Ryo, and Sotsu, each have a chief. The Go are what we now call 與人五 Gonin gumi, Bands of Five. The chiefs of the Go, Jiu, and Ryo are what we now call 與頭 Kumigashira, Captains. That is to say they are the senior men chosen from their fellows. The chiefs of the Sotsu and upward are similar to what are now called 頭者 Monogashira, Captains. In the Sosho these are called 長夫千 Senpucho, Chiefs of Thousands, and 長夫百 Hyakupucho, Chiefs of Hundreds. The

heads of the Rio and upward are called 帥將 Shosui, Generals.

In ancient times it was said that the 兵 Hei, soldiers, lived with the 農 No, farmers. The farmer and the soldier were not distinct. As the soldiers came from the farmers the arrangement of the Sotsu and Go was the same as the rule of the 伍鄰 Ringo, neighbouring fives. For explanation with regard to the neighbouring fives, see the articles on Food and Riches. The military Sotsu and Go are not formed during war and are not raised suddenly during hostilities. The arrangement is permanent and always ready.

In the law of 井 Sei, wells and 田 Den, fields, five houses are one neighbourhood. This is an arrangement of houses east, west, south, and north, with one house in the centre. But they are not necessarily so arranged in reality. The houses of the people are actually arranged lengthwise and crosswise on no settled system, only that it takes a collection of five houses to make a neighbouring five.

The residents of the neighbouring fives are there from their birth until they die, living usually in friendly relationship. They go and come, day and night to each others' houses, eating and drinking together, so that they become known each to the other better than do relations separated by a distance. In the military fives they are never separated in the army. Seeing one of their group from behind they recognize who it is, and on a dark night can tell a person by his voice. In the hour of battle they mutually help each other in a way not seen elsewhere. Should one of the five be seen in danger of death in battle and not be saved, the other four are sentenced to be beheaded. If one surrender to the enemy the other

four are guilty of the same crime, therefore they always work together so as not to suffer defeat. For this reason when 仲管 Kanchung governed the country of 齊 Ts'i* he arranged his men in Sotsu and Go, and kept them in one place. In forming the ranks the men were always given the same positions in the Go and Jiu, so that so and so knew he was in front of so and so, and so and so behind so and so, and so and so was to the left or right of so and so. They thus knew their places when arranged in single, double or treble lines, crosswise, 行雁 Ganko, goose lines (cross line?), 鱗魚 Giorin, fishes' scales (open order.) 翼鶴 Kaku yoku, stork wings (curved lines?), and they were taught when thus arranged where to stand. And thus when any event happened, and upon seeing the single movement of a flag or hearing the note from the drum, they could run into the position designed for them, and without one word being uttered they could obey the command of the 帥將 Shosui, General. Such men are called trained troops. Unless this were so there could be no war based upon law. Even a small body of 300 or 500 men is of no use without law: how much more then does this apply to the handling of a large body of several ten thousands? In China, in military matters, law is of the very first importance. Should one of the ranks of Go break this law and confuse the ranks it is punished, so the 卒士 Shisotsu, officers and men, all carefully guard the law, But the base of the law are the Go and Jiu. Unless the law of the Fives and Tens is strictly adhered to war is not possible. With our Japanese 士 samurai there is no

* An important feudal Kingdom which existed 900 years, down to 224 B.C. and comprising a large portion of Northern Shangtung and Southern Chili. Vide Williams.

law of fives. In the 徒卒 Sotsuto we have fives, but they are only single bands of fives, and usually there is no law of rank of fives. Should rank be formed it would only be in the face of some emergency and then the officer in charge, on the spur of the moment, would order and point out to one by one, that so and so should be next to so and so. This grouping means a rabble. This arrangement might meet the requirements of a small affair, but is not at all enough where large bodies of men have to be moved. And when 陣軍 Gunjin, actual war, happens, what would result but disorder? This results from the lack of the law of fives.

For the preparation of war we know we have the 徒卒 Sotsuto. Sotsu is the same as the present 輕足 Ashigaru, (lowest but one rank of samurai), and To, is the same as the 間中 Chugen (lowest rank of samurai.)

The first need of war preparation is to train the samurai and soldiers. After the Sotsu and Go have been formed, then according to an ancient law, the samurai and soldiers ought to receive daily training. The meaning of 練訓 Kunren, training, is Kun, to explain, and Ren, to prepare. In training samurai and soldiers they must first learn the ranks, then learn to stand up, advance and retreat. To learn the ranks is, as mentioned before, to form into fives, and to know the right, left, front and back of the ranks. Both samurai and soldiers must each know and remember their own standing place, and in the daytime on seeing the movements of the flag, and at night-time on hearing the tones of the drum, they must obey the orders of the general, and form straight, cross, round, square, wide, narrow, great, small, long, short, direct, and slanting formation at once, as already pre-arranged, without a word

being said. They must move in a free and easy way as the limbs of the body move. In learning to sit, stand up, advance, and retreat, it is meant that in sitting they are to kneel on the ground, in standing to stand upright, and in advancing to go forward, and in retreating to go back. The art of 退進 Shintai, advance and retreat, is what the common people now call Kakehiki, bargaining. The law of war is advancing and retreating, sitting and standing. This, again, is that in accordance with the signs of the flag and the tones of the drum, the men of a regiment all move in unison, and sit, stand, advance or retreat as if they were one man's body, thus learning to do just as the commander wishes. This kind of training is acquired by the general taking the soldiers under his command to practice numerous times upon a flat moor or wild field. It is only by repeated teachings that they become trained so as to do these things naturally. In battle, no matter how strong the individual warrior is, he alone cannot conquer the enemy. By combining the strength of several hundreds, thousands, or tens of thousands, into one whole who have been trained so that they will not disorder the ranks of five, and act without losing the periods of advance and retreat, and who can all fight together, can be defeated an enemy even of superior numbers. Thus it is that 羽項 Hiang-yu of 楚 Ch'u* said "The teaching of fencing is only of use against a single foe and it is useless to teach it. The path of the general is 10,000 enemies. For 10,000 enemies it is necessary to know how to handle 10,000 men. Because Hiang-yu knew this he conquered the world. Now there is a great peace,

* A large feudal state existing B.C. 740 to 330.

and if training for war is to be undertaken, then we must abolish one enemy and prepare for 10,000.

In the 華中 Middle Kingdom, (China), the reason given by the former king for hunting during the four seasons, was to prevent damage by bird and beast to the people's fields. He chose the times when the farmers were at leisure. It was not his chief aim to take beasts and birds, but through this means to teach war. Without such methods it would have been impossible to take large armies into the country and teach them how to advance and retreat in ranks, and try the courage of the samurai and soldiers. By calling it hunting, a large number of people was assembled and they were taught about war.

Since the time of 漢 Kan, there were 職武 Bushoku, officers of war who were called 軍將 Shogun, Generalissimo, just as we now have in the Capital the 頭番 Bangashira of the 番大 Ōban, and 番院書 Shoinban of the 書院 Inban, etc.

This Shogun carefully trained the samurai and soldiers under his banner. The samurai and soldiers while being trained donned armour and carried arms, planted their banners, and sounded the drum, just the same as in actual war. The soldiers and horses were imbued with the spirit of the camp, and paid attention to soldiering. The men wore their armour as though they thought it were ordinary clothing. Horses seeing men in armour treated them as if they were clothed in the usual way. Thus, should any unforeseen circumstance happen, they could, without any excitement, cope with it. This all belongs to the law left in the old military teachings of the 王先 Sennō.

The common people of Japan think that Japan is war-

like, making war its first aim, and that China is a country where learning is placed first, and that the laws of war there are crude and the soldiers weak. This is foolish ignorance. Japan does not separate militarism from learning, all samurai being military samurai, but the teachings in war are very crude. In China, militarism and learning are separated. The learned samurai aim first at the way of learning, and the military samurai at that of war, and thus the country is governed. The result is that in China the military samurai are much more advanced in military learning than the Japanese military samurai, because they make military studies their chief work. When Toyotomi invaded Korea he sent several ten thousands of troops under Konishi Yukinaga, Katō Kiyomasa and other generals, and they advanced to Heijo (Ping Yang). When Korea was already in danger the Koreans sent to Ming (China) and begged for assistance. At this time Ming was enjoying a long peace. It was the era of Enlightenment, and there were no soldiers available, save those used for guarding the border strongholds. On hearing of Korea's trouble they sent the reliefs returning from the fortresses on the northern frontiers, to rescue them. The Japanese Generals, samurai, and soldiers, were those who had been brought up in a rebellious time and were brave and crafty men similar to tigers and bears, but on fighting with the soldiers of Ming, who had come to the rescue of the Koreans, they were defeated. This is a testimony in quite modern times. By this we can know that the people of the Middle Kingdom are ready in military preparations and their samurai and soldiers trained. In our country there are laws issued for military preparations, and though these preparations ought not to

be neglected, the weapons are only such in name and are of no practical use. In acquiring military arts our people are only instructed to learn how to fight a single enemy, and as to men with a knowledge of the laws of tactics there are none made use of. Those having the office of generals are simply the heirs of nobles who have from one generation to another been in receipt of official salaries, and who know nothing about handling the large bodies of men under their command.

The officials only learn the art of handling bows, horses and sporting guns, but as to the training of troops it is all neglected. Amongst the ministers and great men there are none who advise the Government. This is a great mistake.

Our 頭番大 Chiefs of Castle Garrisons, and 頭番院書 Chiefs of the Palace Drawing Room Guards, are about the same as the 官軍將 Generals of China. Our Chiefs of fifty guards are about the same as the Chinese 郎林羽 Urinro, Portion of Imperial Guard, and 郎騎, Mounted Horsemen. Our 力與 patrols are the same as Chinese 士吏 Official Samurai, and our 心同 Police the same as the Chinese 步卒 Infantry, and he who leads these is called a 軍將 General. His rank is the fifth and over. His vice is called 將裨 Hisho, Assistant General, or 尉校 Koi, Officer, with a rank of the fifth class or lower. Our present 頭與 Head of Bands agrees with this.

As already stated the higher officers of China led those under their banners outside of the cities for training in the ranks, and trained them unceasingly every day, in advancing and retreating. Should they fail to train and become careless, they were punished. Every man is therefore careful not to forget his duty. Here we see

the difference in Military Preparation between this country and China.

Part of the Chinese military preparations is the choosing of chariots and men, and examining them for war. This is done under the name of hunting, or, in other words, what we have already referred to under the term of assembling. By choosing chariots is meant the choice of war chariots, and by choosing men the choosing of soldiers is meant. In ancient times there were chariot battles, so chariots were of the utmost importance in military matters. In assemblies, those who were entitled to it, rode in chariots. When the infantry marched out of a city the commander examined all the chariots, horses, and military weapons to see whether they were in good condition or not, and the infantry, to see whether they were strong on foot. In examining for actual war, the horses, chariots, and military machines, and in fact everything used in war, were all taken out and examined, to find whether they were complete in equipment, as called for by law. As Military Preparation is one of the most important duties of the state, military men ought to be fully prepared at all times. In times of continued peace, when there is no war, military machines become defective, and repairs are neglected, and the proper number of men and horses, for military purposes, falls short. It is usual to think that when occasion occurs there will be time to get ready, and in times of peace men pass their days in eating and drinking. But the ancients planning to obviate this state of affairs arranged to have these assemblies without fail. This is most important for Military Preparation.

In Japan, because there has been continued peace for

one hundred years, military matters have been neglected and officers have become extravagant, so those even with salaries have become poor and pawned their armour, and, thinking other weapons useless, many have sold and parted with them, and this applies of course much more to the small officers. Even Daimyo having in their care one or half a 群 Gun, Province, do not provide for their military officers and men, and all throughout the country the number of horses has fallen off, and military affairs are carelessly administered. Wise men do not forget that during peaceful government trouble may occur, and that military preparations must be made, and the defence of the country not slackened.

Therefore even now, the old law of choosing chariots and men and the examination of the necessities of war should be put unexpectedly into effect and it should be found out whether the number of horses, soldiers and weapons in the possession of the Daimyo, Great Men, and Officers, exist or not, and reward or punishment meted out as the result. Then the officers and those above them would cease being given to extravagance and give their whole hearts to military matters.

The officers of these times never once in a lifetime don their armour at all; they would not therefore know how to wear it, should necessity arise. They do not know how to move when clad in armour. Even to be clothed in ordinary clothing and court dress interferes with the free movement of the body, and how much more so is this with stiff and heavy armour, which, if one is unaccustomed to it, will cause inconvenience when suddenly worn. If horses see or hear anything out of the ordinary they are easily startled, and they will not let

a rider mount. Horses therefore should be accustomed to the look of armour and to the sound of conch shells and fowling pieces. The officers of China, when out for military practice are accustomed to wear armour and they think of it as if it were ordinary clothing. If Military Preparations are now to be instituted (in Japan) armour ought to be worn, and practice made in matters pertaining to war. This is according to the military advice left by the ancients.

In the ancient times of the Former Kings, troops were lodged in farms, and the saying was that the troops were procured from the farms. In the Han dynasty 國充趙 Chau ch'ung-kwo made the law for the militia that the guards of the frontier should work in the fields, and as they could be used as soldiers in case of need, they were called 田屯 Tonden, militia. This law was first instituted by Ch'ung-kwo and it was found so beneficial that it has been largely followed in later times. The 衆人千子王八 Hachioji Senninshu, Hachioji Multitude of a Thousand, of the present day, is somewhat similar to this practice. The separating of the people from soldiers was first made in the 唐 Tang* dynasty and it has been kept up in later times. In the Ming dynasty the people of the earth were divided into two bodies. Those who made 農 Nō, agriculture, their occupation were called 民 Tami, People, and those who made 兵 Hei, soldiering, their occupation were called 軍 Gun, Military. The people were not allowed to change to the military, nor were the military allowed to change to the people. This was in the Ming dynasty and it had not been so before. The position of a country is determined

* A famous dynasty which ruled China from A.D. 618 to 918, vide Williams.

by its 賦兵 Heifu, soldier service. This was the law of the Sages. Military Service means 役軍 Gunyaku, Military Army Work. The meaning of 賦 Service, is the number of men and horses supplied by a given number of rich fields.

In the laws of the 周 Chen* dynasty the domain of the 子天 Tenshi, Emperor, was called 乘萬 Banjo, 10,000 mounts, and the different 侯諸 Shoko, Princes, 1000 mounts, and the chariot was called houses of 夫大 Taifu, the Great Men, 100 mounts. One chariot was called a mount, therefore 1000 or 1000, mounts refers to the number of chariots supplied by any place. In time of war expeditions the Emperor supplied six armies, the princes each three. These were composed so that to every chariot there were three officers in armour and seventy two foot soldiers, and twenty five men for transport, making in all one hundred men. Four horses pulled the chariot and twelve head of cattle pulled the transport. The 重輜 Shicho, transport, is the same as the Japanese pack horse. In other words one army was composed of 12,500 men. Of the 100 men with each rider, 25 were for transport and were not for fighting. Deducting these, there were three knights in armour and seventy two foot soldiers, making in all seventy five men to the mount. Thus with 100 mounts there were 7,500 men, and for 1,000 mounts 75,000 and for 10,000, 750,000 men. 750,000 men composed sixty armies and 75,000 men six armies. The military service of the Emperor was to supply from the one thousand 里 li in his vicinity sixty armies. In time of war one tenth, that is to say six armies, was supplied. The military service of the Princes 侯 was to furnish from their countries of 100 里, six

* The famous feudal dynasty of Chen which lasted from B.C. 1022 to 255, under 34 sovereigns: it was so called because the Emperor's power reached everywhere. Williams.

armies each, but of these, half were for immediate service, half remaining in the country to guard it, therefore only three armies were supplied for war expeditions.

We read in the 語論 Rongo, that Duke Ching of Ts'i had 1000 span of horses. This means horses for 1000 chariots. Four horses go to a 匹馬 Bahitsu span, 1000 span means the large number of 4000 horses. T'si was a great country, so they may have had that number. But 魯 Lu was a small country, yet in Duke Chao's time we read in the 傳左 Saden that 1000 riders were assembled for hunting at Hung. The Rongo is a trustworthy book and the Saden is a diary of facts. Neither of them would be guilty of falsehood.

In Japan, no matter how great a Daimyo is his province could not be expected to supply as many as 4000 horses. By this means we know the immense number of horses which exist in China. Men and horses naturally increase. If there were so many 2000 years ago, we know the present number must be very large.

Though Japan has from ancient time, after the manner of T'ang, divided the people from the soldiers, the samurai of those days differed from those of the present time. They lived in the country and worked at agriculture. something like the rich farmers of the present times. People of those days called men Daimyo when they owned large fields in their own provinces. Those who, owning large fields, were rich and reared many servants and retainers, were called *daimyo*. The present fashion of calling 侯 Princes who govern the different provinces *daimyo* is a popular error. At the end of the Kamakura era between the years Genkyo and Kenbu, Ashikaga, Nitta, etc., known as 家武 Military Houses, were of the

same class as *daimyo*. Therefore as at that time all men known as farmers acted as soldiers, the number of men who turned out was very large.

Since modern times (relatively) when Japan became a warlike country, and up to the present times, the military houses and farmers have been separated from each other. Farmers do not serve in the army, only a few as coolies; therefore the number of soldiers now is very small. To speak plainly with regard to the present military knights there is practically no difference between one who receives an income of one hundred *koku* and one who receives five to six hundred *koku*. They each go out with a horse and a spear and possibly followed by one or two young men. These young men cannot be included in the ranks but only placed with the 兵難 *Zohyo*,* mixed soldiers. When a knight in receipt of one thousand *koku* income, is followed by even one mounted knight he is considered a very good example of what a knight should be. By using this basis for computation we can form an estimate of the number of men available, from the amount of income paid to the military houses. It will be seen that by this means it is impossible to get such a number of men now as was obtained in ancient times. If we require the number the ancients had, we must get them from amongst the farmers. For instance, if we took the revenue obtained from the farm lands, as a means of estimating the number of men available for service, though the number of farmers and horses may differ in the east and west provinces according to the richness or poorness of the soil, it may be taken that even from poor soil, ten

* Evidently a kind of fighting transport.

koku are obtained from one 町 Cho. Of this four *koku* or ten bags are paid as taxes, and about six *koku* remain as the income of the farmer. He is called a ten *koku* farmer. A ten *koku* farmer keeps one horse or a cow. In the eastern provinces it is a horse and in the west a cow. A thirty or forty *koku* farmer has four or five servants, and it would not be difficult for a fifty *koku* farmer to don armour, mount a horse and carry a spear; for one of even one hundred *koku* ought to be able to clothe one or two of his body servants in armour and have them serve in the ranks. Thus a one hundred *koku* knight should supply two mounted retainers, making with himself three in all. A salary of one hundred *koku* should find three mounted soldiers, one of five hundred, fifteen, a thousand, thirty, and ten thousand, three hundred men. This is taking into account only where the ground is poor, but where the ground is good the number should not stand at this, even twenty or thirty *koku* farmers ought to be responsible for one horseman, and rich people should furnish about ten horsemen from each house. If troops are raised according to the ancient law from the farmers, then the number of soldiers immediately available would be, one cannot tell how many times, more than the present state system. But this idea is not adopted and troops are not raised from the farmers. The present soldiers are only military knights, and one hundred *koku* or five hundred *koku* means but one mounted knight. These high-salaried knights are of no use for war. They keep a number of retainers, but these retainers, especially now, are of no use, as according to military law, 間中 Chugen and 黨若 Wakato retainers are not admitted into the ranks: they

are called mixed soldiers and are only allowed to stand behind, and are of no use in war. It is of no use having a number of them.

Leaving the Laws of the Chinese Military Service, for the present, and inquiring into ancient Japanese customs, we find they were quite different from those of the present times. According to Nature's law the number of horses and men must be much greater than in former times, but it is a sad state as the number of soldiers has much decreased. There must be some reason. If Military Preparations are to be revised this must be considered.

In China before the Three Dynasties (Hia, Shang, and Chen) the fighting was chariot fighting. After 秦 Tsin, 221 B.C. and 漢 Han, 206 B.C. to 220 A.D., it became cavalry fighting, and no change has been made down to present times. From ancient times in Japan we have had cavalry fighting, but of late years this has been abolished and infantry fighting has been substituted. Chariot fighting means having horses, and cavalry fighting means having horses too. As in war-time horses are of the utmost importance, the officer in charge of troops is called 馬司 Shiba, Head of the Horses. The rules of chariot fighting have not been transmitted down to these times, because in late years it was vanquished by cavalry fighting. In Japan in modern times cavalry fighting has been abolished and horses are only used on the road. In ancient days it was "Bows and Horses" because bows and horses were of the utmost importance in battle. But as in modern times horses are no longer used in battles, the true meaning of these words as used in the war law has been lost. From now on anyone having Military Preparation at heart ought to study the laws of cavalry, and train

soldiers and horses well. And in the day of battle if the enemy has only infantry in his ranks, the side with fifty or one hundred cavalry, grasping their spears and having their horses galloping neck and neck can at once break an enemy of even double its number. One can easily understand that the force of the galloping horses makes it impossible for an enemy's infantry, even when double the number, to withstand its charge. Therefore there is nothing more important in future Military Preparation than that infantry fighting be reduced and cavalry fighting learned. In the laws of cavalry there is a difference in training for peace and war. There are two ways and they differ. The rules of the present day for rearing horses and riding are only of use in times of peace, and are only for appearance' sake. They are useless for both man and beast in time of war.

It is hard to say what were the customs of the early Japanese knights. During the middle ages the knights were all farmers, just the same as the present mounted knights, living ordinarily in their native villages and towns, working on farms. The rich learning the art of horse riding and bows, going hunting for birds and animals in the mountains and fields and catching tortoises and fish in the rivers and marches, or galloping horses, or swimming, and crossing steep mountains, became inured to hardship, hardening their muscles and becoming strong walkers. Poor people usually task their bodies very hard in tilling the ground, enduring cold and heat in their work: they are therefore able to withstand any amount of discomfort. This is the custom of that period. Originally the work of a knight was humble, therefore his hands and feet were horny and tough, even

allowing the skin to be torn. They esteemed strong bones and muscles for walking. The military knights of the present era all assemble at the capital, and have done so for generations, because of the salaries they inherit. They have gradually forgotten their origin, and their minds, bodies, and customs are just the same as the 家公 Kuge and 臈上 Joro, female Court attendants, and but one man in several thousands of their number is likely to have any military value. This is not only the result of a lengthy peace, but because of city life.

According to what some people say, there are in the province of Satsuma forty-eight frontier castles. In the smallest of them there are from two hundred to three hundred military knights and the largest have seven to eight hundred per castle, or, for the forty eight castles, more than about twenty thousand military knights. They are all 士郷 village knights, and their time is usually occupied in agriculture. Again in Tosa the remnants of the Choso Kabe clan now exist as village knights to the number of three hundred. These are commonly called 領一足具 the Single Suit of Armour. These observe the old customs of the ancient military knights. The Hachioji Sennin Shu of the present day live in the country and till the land. When on military duty they carry long spears and are similar to the knights of old who lodged amongst the fields. Though the Hachioji Senninshu receive but very little pay, as they live in the country, and work as farmers, they are not badly off, and can easily keep their parents, wives and children. The 心同 retainers, who live in the city, have no other source of livelihood but their pay, and living in a gay place, they are extravagant in their mode of life. They become idle

and devote themselves to pleasure, and many of them cannot keep their parents, wives and children. The hands and feet of fellows of this description become soft, and they cannot stand work. They lose the true spirit of the military knights and are of no account in war. If it is intended to reform the state and guard it with soldiers, the different knights 本旗 under the flag must all be caused to live twenty *ri* in the country, and take turns, at regular intervals, as guard knights and soldiers, to live from thirty to fifty days in the Eastern Capital. For the rest of the time they must work as farmers and learn the bow, horse, and art of war; shooting and fishing as amusement. If they followed the customs of the village knights, in three to five years their muscles and bones would become hard and they would be strong walkers, losing their Kuge and womanlike customs and becoming true military knights. If they change thus, even if the military art they learn is crude, they would be much better than the military knights of to-day who have learnt the military art. This is the way to return to the old 道武 Military Teaching. And there is no better way to help the poor military men of to-day. Manufactures are a country's riches. Since ancient times those governing the matters of state have considered it a duty to encourage manufactures. In military preparation out of all the manufactures it has been considered necessary to foster a large number of makers of military weapons. When war breaks out, the roads to neighbouring countries are closed and we are not at liberty to obtain manufactures. We must repair our weapons of war, build castles, inclosures, carts and ships, repair armour and sharpen war swords. These are things that ordinary men usually cannot do.

Then must we have artizans of all kinds. The country that does not foster these cannot be anything in war. This is one of the things relating to Military Preparation.

Now of the different *daimyo* there are some we hear who foster manufactures. All ought to do this.

As has been mentioned in the former article on official work, if the work of the different officials is not specialized government is impossible. Especially if military matters are not looked after, the laws cannot be preserved. Leaving on one side the details of the numerous official duties, the literary and military officials ought to be distinctly separated. Of the different officers of to-day, from the 頭番大, Obangashira, to the bows, horses and guns, those having charge of the different military weapons are performing military duties. These different offices ought all to be under one in the Government with some one to assist him. Everything pertaining to military matters ought to be in the hands of these two men. These would be the equivalent of the 馬司大 Great Chief of the Horse, and 馬司小 Small Chief of the Horse. If arranged thus, then all of the laws would be one, and military preparation would be complete. The man given the position of Great Chief of the Horse must be one well versed in military learning and suitable for a General and one fond of military matters. Even in the different *daimyo's* provinces one of the officials ought to be chosen to make militarism his chief duty. All military matters ought to be in his charge and he should do nothing else. If the country's military matters were attended to, Military Preparation would be accomplished and military work would be carried out. But at present we cannot say our country is in a state of Military Preparedness.

貢子 Tsz Kung asked about Government, and Confucius in replying said, "There must be ample food and soldiers." A country is guarded by the military, therefore it is imperative that the government see there is no lack of soldiers. But without food troops cannot be maintained. This places food as the source of soldiers. Therefore the Government must be for Food and Riches, and the country enriched : this is essential in Military Preparation. This is a most important factor in Political Economy.

MINUTES OF MEETINGS.

General Meeting, March 17th, 1905.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society was held at the Parish Building, 54 Tsukiji, on Thursday, March 17th at 4 p.m.

The President, Professor A. Lloyd, announced that, as the Minutes of the last meeting had been already published in the Transactions of the Society, they would be allowed to stand as printed. He therefore at once introduced the lecturer, Professor Frederick Starr, Ph.D. of Chicago University.

Professor Starr gave an exceptionally interesting lecture on the *Aztecs*. He said that probably most of us had learned about the Aztecs from Prescott's interesting account of them. But that work gives rise to four great errors, viz. 1. That the Aztecs controlled the whole of Mexico, whereas they were only *one* of about one hundred and fifty tribes inhabiting Mexican territory. 2. That the Aztecs were far advanced in culture and civilisation, whereas they lacked three most important attributes of what we call civilisation: viz., agricultural animals, knowledge of writing, knowledge of smelting iron. 4. That the Aztecs are extinct, whereas they are probably as numerous to-day as ever they were in the past.

Professor Starr then gave a fascinating description of the mode of life, the garb, the customs, the agricultural and artisan processes—especially in stone-work, feather-work and gold-work—among the Aztecs. He explained their religious beliefs and practices, their mode of treating and sacrificing captives of war. He concluded with an explanation of the Aztec mode of dividing time and a

graphic description of incidents connected with the ending of each fifty-two year cycle.

After the lecture ended, Professor Clement asked if a reason were known for fixing on fifty-two years as a cycle. Professor Starr explained that it was the result of the Aztec conception of "sacred numbers." Rev. Mr. Sweet asked for references to the best bibliographic sources of knowledge about the Aztecs. In response to this inquiry, Professor Starr recommended especially the works of W. H. Morgan and Adolf F. Bandalier.

The President, on behalf of the Society, most cordially thanked Professor Starr for his interesting lecture, and then declared the meeting adjourned.

ARTHUR LLOYD,
Chairman.

General Meeting, 12th October.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held at the home of Professor Lloyd, 13 Rokuchome, Iigura, Azabu, on Wednesday, October 12th, at four o'clock. After calling the meeting to order, the President, Professor Lloyd, asked for the minutes of the last meeting.

After the minutes were accepted, the President said that the business of the meeting was a paper by Miss Ballard. This paper had come to the Council with the endorsement of the late Professor Griffin. He therefore invited those present to stand while he read a few prefatory remarks concerning the late Professor Griffin. The President then said:—

I desire to preface my reading of Miss Ballard's paper by stating that it came to the Council endorsed among others by the late Professor Griffin, who took much interest

in it while Miss Ballard had it under composition this summer at Hakone. It seems but right that I should, as President, in the name of the Council, and indeed of the whole of our Asiatic Society, give expression to our deep sense of the loss we have sustained by Professor Griffin's sad death. Mr. Griffin was not one of our oldest members, but he was one of our most active and most promising, and none can speak better of his activity and zeal than those who have worked with him at Council and Committee meetings. Had his life been spared our Transactions would certainly have been enriched by his labours:—but it is not the Transactions we have lost that we mourn for, it is the loss of a bright, genial, self-sacrificing personality.

Miss Ballard's paper, entitled "An Account of Watanabe Noboru (Kwazan)," was then read by Professor Lloyd. A summary of this interesting paper follows:—

Sixty years have passed since Noboru Watanabe took his own life, being under the impression that his mere existence brought discredit upon his feudal lord.

These sixty years have brought great changes, and Japan is now ready to do credit to the work done by Watanabe and his party. In a recent political speech Marquis Ito, in referring to the opening of Japan to foreign influence, made the following remarks:

"That the Restoration should have been combined with the opening of the country and the adoption of a policy of enlightened progress was a surprise to all. This great and decisive step is due of course to the keen foresight of the enlightened Sovereign and of the statesmen who surrounded and advised him at the time. No inconsiderable amount of credit, however, must in this

case be given to the patriots and savants like Shihei Hayashi, Kwazan Watanabe, Choei Takano, Shozan Sakuma and others."

Noboru Watanabe, commonly known by his *nom de plume* of Kwazan, was born in 1794. His father was a *samurai* of the Tawara clan. Kwazan's home was of the humblest and poorest description. His father had been ill for many years and in order to procure the necessary medicines for him, everything the family possessed had gradually been sold. In the coldest night of winter they had not a *futon* to lie on nor to cover them. Kwazan devoted all his leisure to study, hoping eventually by that means to do something to help his parents. One of his father's friends, however, told him that considering the extreme poverty of his home it was of no use his thinking of becoming a scholar, it was necessary that he should apply himself to something that would bring in money at once and as his pictures showed great talent he had better give himself to painting. So at the age of sixteen Kwazan began work as an art student. It was when he was over thirty that Kwazan first turned his attention to Dutch learning. The students of the Dutch, or Western, learning were divided at that time into two parties, one studied western learning in several branches, the other devoted itself to the study of medicine only. Kwazan and his friends also formed an association called "The Old Men's Club," whose avowed object was the study of foreign geography and history, but they had also the secret purpose of studying with a view to improving the maritime fortifications of Japan, which they felt to be defective. The year 1818 was marked by the coming of an English merchant ship to Uraga. The

Japanese Government were much annoyed that a foreign ship should venture so far, and the subject of maritime defense, in which Kwazan had always been interested, became a burning question. Kwazan thought that the inhabitants of sea coast places should be instructed by the Government as to the shape of foreign ships and the flags of different countries, so that they might be able to give the alarm when dangerous vessels appeared; he suggested that pictures should be posted up in Government offices. He also urged the Government to have Spring and Autumn manœuvres for the better training of the soldiers.

Torii, the Superintendent of Uraga, was extremely jealous of the position and influence of Kwazan and the other leaders of the advanced party, and had long been looking for some accusation to bring against them, when the publication of Takano Choei's "Yume Monogatari" gave him the opportunity he sought. He told the Government he believed that the talk about the probable coming of foreign ships was merely a fiction by which the Dutch scholars were trying to agitate the people and to rouse them to sedition. He advised that the Dutch scholars should be severely reprimanded.

Torii was not the only who was working against the Dutch scholars. A certain official named Shibukawa addressed a letter to the Government on the subject. He strongly advised that all foreign books brought into the country should be submitted to a sort of censorship. Under the present system, he said, scholars were allowed to order any books they pleased and take them to their homes; in this way pernicious reading on politics, forbidden religions, such as Christianity, and other erroneous opinions

were being widely spread. He proposed that all books should be taken straight to Yedo and examined there before being read by any one.

In May, 1839, Kwazan invited Takano one day to his house and told him that it was clear that trouble was in store for the Dutch scholars. Even while he was speaking a messenger arrived bringing the expected summons to appear before the Government.

He was accused of having spoken and written disrespectfully of the Government, and passages were quoted from his writings. Kwazan's defence was that these passages did not occur in a published book but were merely in rough notes which had been written in time of excitement and then laid aside; he admitted that the language was hasty, but pleaded that no disrespect was meant.

When Kwazan was released, after a seven months' imprisonment, the joy of his friends was unbounded, but though released he was by no means a free man. His orders from the Government were to remain quietly in his house, to see no one, and to go back to Tawara as soon as possible. A letter written at the New Year from Tawara shows the spirit in which Kwazan took his expulsion from active life.

"When I lived in Yedo the expenses were great, so that at this time of the year I would be anxiously wondering how to meet them; and there was a perpetual rush of business. A fire would occur, or visitors would come, or there was the feudal duty to be done. Rising before it was light on New Year's day I would go all round Yedo in a *kago* paying my New Year's calls, with which half the month was taken up; and before the

remnants of last year's work were disposed of the holiday was over and the feudal duties began. Now all is changed. The Shogun, the feudal lord, and everyone else is represented in the person of my mother, to whom my wife and I render homage. The children serve as her companions, and the household are happy together.

The Lord of Tosa died but the succession of the heir was not confirmed by the Shogun, and Kwazan's enemies were not slow to insinuate that this delay was owing to the disloyalty of Kwazan. They argued that the clan could hope for no favours at the hand of the Shogun while it harboured such a traitor as Kwazan.

Kwazan therefore felt that his mere existence was an obstacle to the advancement of his lord and he resolved to put an end to a life which he thought was of no further use.

On October 10th, 1840, he wrote several letters of farewell and prepared to commit suicide that night. His aged mother, however, for some reason, was unable to sleep and he devoted himself to her comfort. The next afternoon, as he did not appear, his mother and wife went to his room in search of him. They found that he had committed suicide according to the prescribed *samurai* rules.

After the paper was read, the President said :—I may perhaps be allowed to supplement Miss Ballard's paper by one or two points which only came to my knowledge a few days ago, too late for me to send Miss Ballard the information.

(i.) Watanabe's zeal for the study of geography was apparently first kindled by the sight of a wall-map of the world which he one day saw hanging in the room of one of his friends. He was so much interested in it that he

could not take his eyes off it for the rest of that day. He is said to have then realized for the first time the smallness of Japan and the enormous encroachments of Russia.

Hence his zeal for the study of geography.

(ii.) The *Morrison* was an American ship. A party of three Japanese fisherman, blown out to sea in 1835, were picked up on the coast of Queen Charlotte Island in British Columbia, and well treated. They were afterwards sent to Macao, to be under the care of Rev. John Gutzlaff, a missionary of (I believe) the London Missionary Society. Here they were joined by four other sailors who had been cast away near Manila, and when all the seven had had been with Mr. Gutzlaff for some time, a gentleman in Singapore furnished the means for sending them home on the *Morrison* (1839). They undoubtedly had a missionary object, but the *Morrison* was not allowed to land her Japanese either at Yedo or at Kagoshima. Hildreth, from whom I take this account, says that the Japanese were so disgusted at not being allowed to land that they shaved their heads in token of renouncing their nationality and returned to China with the *Morrison*. What happened to them afterwards is not recorded.

It is evident therefore that the story of these men having been educated for some years in English is not true. This is borne out by another fact. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1838 has a long article on a book by Dr. Gutzlaff, "China Opened," which seems to have created some stir in England at the time, as I have found references to it in several parts of that volume of the *Magazine*. Had there been several Japanese youths in England at the time, connected with Dr. Gutzlaff, the fact would

have been known and have been mentioned. I think the silence of the Reviewers shows that they were not in England. Possibly more on this subject might be found in the archives of the London Missionary Society.

(iii.) The book which brought Watanabe into trouble was entitled *Shinkinron*, "A Word of Warning." It exists in Japanese in a volume entitled *Bunmei tozenshi* and is not very long. I am sorry to say I have not read it, but I have had a tolerably full analysis given me by one of my pupils. It contains (i.) a description of the various countries of Europe; which Powers would be most minutely described it is not difficult to guess. (ii.) An account of the encroachments made on Asiatic territory from time to time by European Powers. Russia we know had been encroaching; it was the time when England was engaged in the Opium War. (iii.) An attack on the Shogun's Government and the weak state of the coast defences of the country.

ARTHUR LLOYD.

Chairman.

Annual General Meeting, Dec. 14, 1904.

By kind invitation of His Excellency Mr. Lloyd Griscom, the Annual General Meeting of the Society was held at the United States Legation on Wednesday, December 14th, at four o'clock. The President of the Society, Professor Lloyd, said that the minutes of the last meeting had been published in the *Japan Mail*, that doubtless they had been read by most of the members, and that, if no one had any change to suggest, they would be allowed to stand as printed. He then said that the paper to be read was a translation by R. J. Kirby, Esq., from the works of Dazai Jun, entitled "Bubi: Preparation for

War." This paper, with a preface by Mr. Kirby, was then read.

(See paper printed at length in this volume.)

The President, on behalf of the Society, warmly thanked Mr. Kirby for the paper, which was timely and interesting and which must have cost much labour and trouble. He said that it was interesting to see how in this paper Dazai refers to the decrease of population which, under the strict repressive laws of the Tokugawa, was a striking fact of the Shogunate Era. Dazai emphasized the importance of industry, food, riches, and especially the careful preparation which the Japanese now show.

The reports for the year, which were unanimously accepted by the meeting, follow.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

In the year ending to-day, eight Council meetings and four General Meetings of the Society have been held. At a General Meeting held January 27th, Reverend Ekai Kawaguchi lectured on his "Personal Experiences among the Tibetans." On March 17th, Professor Frederick Starr, Ph.D., of the University of Chicago, lectured before the Society on "The Aztecs." On October 12th, a paper by Miss Ballard, entitled "Sketch of the Life of Watanabe Noboru," was read before the Society. For to-day, the paper is a translation from the works of Dazai, "Bubi, Preparation for War."

In the matter of publication, the Society has added one number to its list of Transactions. A pamphlet containing a List of Transactions, the revised Constitution

and By-Laws and other important information has also been published. Two other short papers are now available for publication. Together they will make an interesting number of the Transactions.

Ten new names have been added to the list of members. By death, the Society has sustained very exceptional losses, seven members in all. Of these, two were Honorary Members—Major J. W. Powell and Sir Edwin Arnold—one, a Life Member, and four, Ordinary Members. One was an active and valuable member of the Council.

The Treasurer and the Librarian elected one year ago by the Society were forced by other duties to resign their respective offices. The vacancies were temporarily filled by Council, J. McD. Gardiner, Esq. being made Treasurer, and Professor A. Lloyd, Librarian.

On invitation, Council appointed the Rend Clay MacCauley to act as Delegate of the Society at the Eighth International Geographical Congress, which was convened at Washington, D.C., in September. Dr. John Milne with regret declined the invitation of Council to act in a similar capacity.

Other actions of Council, which have special interest for Members, were the adoption of a resolution which limits to a period not exceeding two years the time within which the Librarian may use his discretion in supplying gratuitously to Members missing numbers of the Transactions; and the adoption of a resolution which makes it the duty of the Librarian from time to time to notify members concerning the acquisition of new works by the Library.

TREASURER'S ACCOUNTS.

THE HON. TREASURER IN ACCOUNT WITH THE ASIATIC
SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

January 1st, 1904.

	<i>Yen.</i>
To Balance in Banks	2,749.07
To Amount credited Cash in error Dec. 30th, 1903	100.00
To Membership Fees	187.74
To Sale of Transactions	249.25
To Interest	39.61
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By Paid for Printing	108.38
By Paid for Binding	68.10
By Paid for Postage	78.73
By Paid for Stationery	16.70
By Paid for Salary Assistant Librarian	175.00
By Paid for Purchase of Books	59.07
By Paid for Sundries	15.45
By Paid for Lecture in Yokohama	29.00
By Paid for Insurance	100.00
By Paid for Rent	100.00
By Paid for Delegate to Geographical Congress.	50.00
By Paid for Balance in Banks	2,483.37
By Paid for Balance in Librarian's Hands 41.87	2,525.67
	<hr/>
	3,325.67

December 14th, 1904

J. McD GARDINER,
Hon. Treasurer.

Examined, compared with vouchers and found correct.

J. T. SWIFT.
RICHARD J. KIRBY.

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

The Librarian, who has been acting temporarily as successor to Mr. Swift, who resigned in the summer, begs to report that the sales of transactions during the current year have amounted to *yen* 423,36. The money for some of these sales may not yet have reached the Treasurer's hands, which will account for any discrepancy between the Librarian's record of sales, and the entries in the Treasurer's books.

The annexed list of transaction in stock will show that the supply of some volumes is running very low, and it will be for the Council next year to decide whether these volumes should be reprinted or not. As a rule when a volume, for which there is some demand, runs low, it is a sign that it is a valuable number.

The volume of Transaction for 1904 will contain in addition to the account of Prof. Starr's lecture and the records of the meetings, two valuable papers, one by Miss Ballard on Watanabe Kwazan, and, no doubt, one by Mr. Kirby on "Bubi or Preparation for War." It will be sent to the printers immediately.

The Librarian has to thank the members of the Library Committee for much valuable assistance in the re-arrangement of the Library. Books which seemed to be foreign to the direct work of the Society have been removed from the Library, and placed as a loan collection in the Library of the Keiogijuku University. The books remaining in the Society's Library have been re-arranged and re-catalogued, a work which is now almost completed, and some money has been spent on binding and on the purchase of new books.

The Librarian regrets to report that very little use has been made of the Library. Very few books have been taken out, and the visitors to the Library during the year have not been ten persons—indeed the number has been far below that. If we consider that a very great portion of our expenses really concern the Library, it is but natural to ask the question whether it would not be advisable to take some step either to make the Library more useful, or to relieve the Society of a rather profitless burden. This will be a matter for the Council to consider during the ensuing year.

ARTHUR LLOYD.

Tokyo, December 14th, 1904.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

Officers and Members of Council for the ensuing year were then elected:—

President	Professor A. Lloyd.
Vice-President for Tokyo	...	Dr. D. MacDonald.
„ for Yokohama	...	J. C. Hall, Esq., H.B.M's Consul-General.
Corresponding Secretary	...	Professor E. H. Vickers.
Recording Secty, for Tokyo.		„ „
„ for Yokohama	...	Dr. J. L. Dearing.
Treasurer	J. McD. Gardiner, Esq.
Librarian	Professor A. Lloyd.

Members of Council:—

B. H. Chamberlain, Esq.
J. H. Gubbins, Esq.
Rev. D. C. Greene, D.D.
Rev. A. F. King.
R. J. Kirby, Esq.
Professor J. T. Swift.

R. S. Miller, Esq.

Rev. Walter Weston.

Professor E. W. Clement.

Rev. H. H. Guy.

The President announced the result of the election and declared the Meeting adjourned.

ARTHUR LLOYD.

Chairman.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Aston, C. M. G., W. G., The Bluff, Beer, E. Devon, England.
Day, Prof. Geo., Yale College, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.
Edkins, D. D., Rev. Joseph, Shanghai, China.
Hepburn, M. D., L. L. D., J. C. 71 Glenwood Avenue, East
Orange, New Jersey, U.S.A.
Rein, Prof. J. J., Bonn-am-Rhein, Germany.
Satow, G. C. M. G., Sir Ernest M., British Legation, Peking.

LIFE MEMBERS.

Alexander, Rev. R. P., Hirosaki.
Amerman, D. D., Rev. James L., 25 East 22nd St., New
York, U.S.A.
Andrews, Rev. W., Hakodate.
Atkinson, R. S. C., R. W., 44 London Sq., Cardiff, Wales.
Bigelow, D. R. W. S., Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
Bisset, F. L. S., J., 9 Greenhill Park, Edinburgh.
Blanchet, Rev. C. T., Philmont, N.Y., U.S.A.
Booth, Rev. E. S., 178 Bluff, Yokohama.
Brinkley, R. A., Capt. F., 3 Hiro-o cho, Azabu, Tōkyō.
Brown, Capt. A. R., Duhill House, Helensburgh, Argyll,
Scotland.
Cary, Rev. Otis, Karasumaru, Kiōto.
Carsen, T. G., Bannfield, Coleraine, Ireland.

- Center, Alex., Pacific Mail office, San Francisco.
Chamberlain, B. H., Miyanoshita, Hakone.
Cheon, A., Hanoi, Tonkin.
Clarke-Thornhill, T. B., Rushton Hall, Kettering, Northamptonshire, England.
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Groom, A. H., Kōbe.
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Hall, M. A., John Carey, H.B.M. Consul-General 118-B,
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Hattori, I., Morioka.
Hellyer, T. W., Kōbe.
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James, F. S., 119 Bluff, Yokohama.
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(absent)
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Knott, D. S. C., F. R. S. E., Cargill G., Royal Society, Edin-
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Channel Islands, England.
Satow, F. A., Cairo.

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Mexico.
Wood, Arnold, c/o Wood & Co., Publishers, N. Y. City.
-

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- Andrews, Rev. R. W., (absent).
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- Koudacheff, Prince, Russian Legation, Tōkiō (absent).
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Patton, Rev. J. L., Kiōto.
Patrick, Rev. V. H., 52 Tsukiji, Tōkiō.
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 Young, Robt, Japan Chronicle, Kōbe.

APPENDIX A.

LIST OF PAPERS AND LECTURES DURING THE SESSION OF 1904.

1. Lecture on the AztecsProf. Ladd., University of Chicago.
 2. The Life of Watanabe Noboru(Kwazan)..By Miss S. Ballard.
 3. Dazai on Bubi, or the Art of War...By R. J. Kirby, Esq.
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APPENDIX B.

LIST OF EXCHANGES OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

Academy of Sciences, Lincoln Park, Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.
American Geographical Society, New York City, U. S. A.
 „ Oriental Society, New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.
 „ Philological Society, New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.
 „ Philosophical Society, Philadelphia Pa., U. S. A.
Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien, Austria.
Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
Australian Association for the Advancement of Science, Sydney.
Bataviasch Genootschap, Batavia, Java.
Buddhist Text Society, Calcutta.
Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D. C.
Bureau of Education, „ „
Canadian Institute, Tronto.
China Review, Hongkong.
Chinese Recorder, Shanghai.
Cosmos de Guido Cora, 2, Via Goito, Rome Italy.
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Tōkiō.
D-eutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Leipzig.
Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada, Ottawa.
Harvard University, Museum of Comparative Zoology, Cambridge, Mass.
 U. S. A.
Imperial Russian Geographical Society, St. Petersburg.
Imperial Library, Ueno Park, Tōkiō.
Imperial University of Japan, Tōkiō.
Imperial University of Kyoto.
Japan Society, London.
Japan Weekly Mail, Tokio.

- Johns Hopkins University Publications, Baltimore, Md. U. S. A.
 Journal Asiatique, Paris.
 Musée Guimet, Paris.
 Pekin Oriental Society, Pekin.
 Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, London.
 " " " Bombay Branch.
 " " " Ceylon Branch, Colombo.
 " " " China Branch, Shanghai.
 " " " Strait Branch, Singapore.
 Royal Dublin Society, Kildare St., Dublin.
 Royal Geographical Society, London.
 Royal Society, London.
 " " of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Scotland.
 " " Sydney, New South Wales.
 " " Adelaide, South Australia.
 Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen, Berlin C. Am Zeughaus 1.
 Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D. C.
 Sociedad Geographica de Madrid, Madrid.
 Sociedad de Geographia de Lisbon, Portugal.
 Société d'Anthropologie, Paris.
 Société Finno. Agrienne, Helsingfors, Finland, Russia.
 State Historical Society, Madison, Wis., U. S. A.
 United States Geological Survey, Washington, D. C.
 " " Dept. of Agriculture, " "
 University of Upsala, Sweden.
 Verein für Erdkunde zu Leipzig.
 Wisconsin Academy of Sciences Arts and Letters, Madison, Wis, U. S. A.

APPENDIX C.

THIRTY YEAR SUBSCRIBERS.

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